

AFTER THE OCCU-

- 175 pation of the Lena River (1632) by the Russians and the establishment
167 of the fortress of Yakutsk, some Yakut divisions moved to the most distant parts of the country, and even crossed the Verkhoyansk Mountain Ridge to escape taxation. After curbing the resistance of the Tungus and Yukaghir, the Yakut settled the Yana, Indighirka, and Kolyma valleys, as well as some localities between these rivers. About the same time, some Yakut crossed the Stanovoi Mountain Ridge and came to the shore of the Okhotsk Sea. Some hunting and trading Yakut went to the south of the Stanovoi Ridge and appeared in the valleys of the northern tributaries of the Amur River.

INITIAL CONTACT WITH RUSSIANS

- 175 Starting from the Mangaseya settlement and Yeniseisk the Russians approached the Yakut country by two routes. In 1601 Mangaseya was founded on the Taz River, but the settlement was soon transferred to the Yenisei River at the mouth of the Turukhan. Yeniseisk was founded in 1619 and about the same time the Yeniseisk Russians first learned of a great river to the east, the Lena. The same rumor reached Mangaseya a year later. While the route from Yeniseisk to the Lena was along the Upper Tunguska, that from Mangaseya was up the Lower Tunguska. Both these rivers are eastern tributaries of the Yenisei.

The Turukhantry, a hunting party of forty, led by a man named Penda, used the first route shortly before 1630. They ascended the Lower Tunguska, traversed the Chechinsky hills, and reaching the Lena, descended it to the present site of Yakutsk. Then he returned up the river to where Verkholsensk is now situated. Thence he made his way across the Buryat steppe to the Angara River, a tributary of the Upper Tunguska, ascended it, and returned to Turukhanek by way of the Upper Tunguska and Yenisei. This was a remarkable journey for the time.

The Mangaseya Cossacks in 1630 selected a route along the Viliui River, a tributary of the Lena. The leader, Martin Vasilyev, with thirty Cossacks proceeded from the Lower Tunguska to the Viliui River, descended it to the Lena, and exacted tribute from the Yakut they encountered. According to his report the Chona and Viliui rivers were at that time inhabited by Tungus clans.¹

The development of the relations between the Russians and the Yakut will be further discussed in the section on History.

¹Fischer, I., *The History of Siberia, 1774* (In Russian), 361-362; Berg, L., *History of Geographical Discoveries in the Yakut Country (Iakutia. A Series of Articles published under the editorship of P. Wittenburg by the Russian Academy of Sciences*, pp. 1-38, Leningrad, 1927, in Russian).

1933.]

Jochelson, *The Yakut*.

185

ing a poor Yakut for money, but this incident did not come to the knowledge of the Russian administration.

Being vegetarians, the skoptzy kept horses for driving and farming and horned cattle for their milk and milk products. They kept birds for their eggs.

In 1904 the skoptzy, according to a manifesto from the Czar, were allowed to return to European Russia and, beginning in 1905, they started to leave Yakut Province, by villages. On their westward journey they told everywhere of their success in carrying on agriculture in Yakutsk Province. Many Russian peasants set out for Yakut Province to occupy the land of the skoptzy, but without their resources were unable to carry on their agricultural pursuits on the same scale.

Yakut Agriculturists. The Yakut learned the technique of soil cultivation from the Russians from whom they also received seed. Their first sowing was in 1853 in the valley of the Maya River, thus it is only about seventy-five years since the native population became agriculturists. From that time, agriculture developed rapidly. In the first half of the eighteenth century about 400 to 450 acres were sown in Yakut Province; in 1891 over 16,000 acres, and in 1917, about 34,000 acres. It is interesting to note that three-fifths of the tilled land was cultivated by the Yakut.

The proportion of cereal plants sown was and remains almost constant. In the period between 1917 and 1925 barley occupied first place (from 46 to 59 per cent of the cultivated land), then followed spring and winter rye (from 30 to 39 per cent), spring wheat (from 6 to 13.6 per cent) and oats (from 1 to 5 per cent).

In addition to cereal plants, potatoes should be mentioned. In 1900-1910 these were grown on 700 acres. No other vegetables are cultivated by the Yakut. But Russians living in the suburbs of the cities grow many kinds of sweet herbs, onions, melons, watermelons, etc. The harsh winter of Yakutsk Province has its compensation in the warm summer, the abundant sunshine of its long clear days and the continentality of climate in general. Because of these climatic conditions, the possible period of plant growth is much shorter in Yakutsk Province (central and southern parts) than in countries lying much farther to the south. Thus the average maturation period for barley is seventy-one days, wheat, seventy-seven days, and spring rye, eighty days.

Agricultural methods are still primitive. Some Yakut continue to use the iron spade for tilling. Few possess iron plows; harrows with iron instead of wooden teeth are a great luxury.

S
795
797

S
795
231

S
795
175
167
241

Y
241
175
177

Y
243

Y
244

Y
241
912
407
177

HISTORY OF CONTACT WITH RUSSIANS

Y
173 The Yakut once lived in southern Cis-Baikalia and earlier, possibly, in the Sayan Mountains. Under pressure from the Mongol-Buryat, they wandered into the Lena Valley occupied by Tungus tribes, whom they forced to retreat from the valley into the mountains. These events which occurred in the thirteenth or fourteenth century of our era, naturally could not be recorded in the old Russian annals. Our information is based on oral traditions, preserved among the Yakut.

HS
175 We have previously noted (see p. 64) that the Yakut were subjugated by two different Cossack parties from Mangasey and Yeniseisk. The Olekminsk fortress on the Lena River was erected in 1630
651
Y
● 175 when only Tungus lived in the region. In 1637 a Cossack party, under the command of Busa, collected tribute in furs from the Yakut of the Yana River.

In 1638 the Cossack elder, Postnik Ivanov, with a party of twenty-seven men, left Yakutsk on horseback, crossed the Verkhoyansk Ridge and entered the valley of the upper course of the Yana River, meeting first Tungus, and later Yakut.

In 1641 a Cossack party, under the command of Stadukhin, journeyed to the northeast of Yakutsk and reached the tableland, Oimekon, on the upper course of the Indighirka River. There they met Reindeer Tungus and cattle-breeding Yakut and exacted fur tribute from them.

HS
162 In 1675 there were in Olekminsk 206 tribute-paying Yakut and
Y
167 Tungus; forty years previously there were no Yakut in Olekminsk. On the Viliui River were three camps of Tungus and Yakut, totaling 1005 men; in Shiganak were 332 Yakut and Tungus; in Verkhoyansk 125 Yakut tax payers.

HS
175 By 1620 a report had reached Tobolsk from the Mangaseya Cossacks of the Great (Lena) River and the Lena Yakut. In 1631 they descended
651
Y
175 by the Viliui River, a tributary of the Lena, to the Lena River and imposed tribute on the adjacent Yakut. In 1632 a party of Cossacks under the command of the Boyar's son, Shakhov, took tribute in sables from a clan of Viliui horse-breeding Yakut. The Viliui River farther up from its mouth was occupied by Tungus only. The northern boundary of the distribution of the Yakut at that time was the mouth of the Viliui. The
Y
131 whole Lena Valley from the mouth of the Viliui River to the south, at a
133 distance of about 500 kilometers (or 310 miles) was occupied by Yakut.
361 In their possession were also all the Lena islands of that region, rich in

pasture lands. There is no definite information as to how far inland they penetrated at that period. We may admit, however, that the Yakut, being horse and cattle breeders, were hardly inclined to move into the dense forests far from the majority of their tribesmen, i.e., far from the Lena Valley. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Yakut abode on the western banks of the Lena must have been the territory of the two present *uluses*¹ of Yakutsk District, *Namskij* and *Western Kangalassky*. There, according to Yakut traditions, was the first place of refuge of their mythical forefather, the "Tatar" *Elliei*. From there a part of his nearest descendants could also have emigrated over the Lena islands to the eastern banks of the Lena River, where excellent pastures are as abundant as on the western banks.

At the time of the Russian invasions the Yakut were already the owners of the central part of the trans-Lena tableland. They had settlements on the tributaries of the Aldan River, the largest of the western tributaries of the Lena, and on the *Amga* River, a tributary of the Aldan. But the most populous locality appears to have been the western part of the Lena Valley between *Tabaginsky* Cape and the *Kangalassky* promontory. This valley is about 70 *versts* (46.2 miles) long and the bank ridge retreats from the river at a distance of from three to six *versts* (from two to four miles). *Lake Saisary* lies almost in the middle of this valley. This is the largest open plain encountered in Yakut territory with the densest population of horse and cattle breeders. The owners of this valley, the *Kangalassky*, constitute, according to all Yakut traditions, the most powerful group of clans. The *Kangalas Toyon* (prince, elder), *Tygyn*, is depicted in legends as their absolute ruler, although these clans were nominally considered as independent divisions.

In 1632 the Russian invaders erected a little fortress called *Lesnoi Ostroshek*, on the eastern bank of the *Lena*; ten years later they transferred it seventy kilometers to the south, where it became the center of the territory under the name of the *City of Yakutsk*. The fortress, now the *City*, of *Olekminsk* was erected by a Cossack party under the command of *Buza* in 1635. In the summer of 1637 *Buza* built two flat-bottomed ships, called *kocha*, and descended to the mouth of the *Lena* River, and traveled in an easterly direction on the *Polar Sea*. Not far from the mouth of the *Omoloi* River he was barred by ice and was compelled to abandon his ships. For three weeks his party walked over mountain ridges until they arrived at the upper reaches of the *Yana* River, where they met Yakut and took many sable skins from them as tribute.

¹For the meaning of the administrative divisions of *ulus*, *usuley*, and *clan* see p. 47.

HS In 1639 Cossacks from Tomsk founded, at the mouth of the Maya
 175 River, where it flows into the Aldan, the Butalakoye Fortress and, pro-
 631 ceeding over the passageway between the upper courses of the Maya
 Y River and Ulya River, they reached the shore of the Okhotsk Sea, where
 175 a fortress called Kossoi was soon erected, and later renamed Okhotsk.
 This conquest, which was carried out unsystematically and accom-



Fig. 105. A Blockhouse, the Remains of the Ancient Fortress built around the City of Yakutsk after the subjection of the Yakut by the Russian Cossacks.

HS
 175
 631
 Y
 175
 HS
 175
 Y
 175
 HS
 175
 Y
 175

panied by internal skirmishes among the conquerors, induced the Moscow Government in 1640 to establish a special administrative center on the Lena River at Yakutsk Fortress, which served as a base for the further development of Russian influence in eastern Siberia.

With the appointment of special governors (*voevodas*) in Yakutsk further conquests were accomplished at much greater speed. In the

forties of the seventeenth century the Yakutsk Cossacks continued the discoveries of their predecessors on the shores of the Polar Sea and reached the Alaseya and Kolyma rivers. When the first attempts to proceed from the mouth of Kolyma farther to the east and to double the Chukchee Cape by sea failed, they went by land over the mountains, reached the Anadyr River, and from there Penshina Bay on the Okhotsk Sea.

In 1697-1698 the military expedition of Atlassov discovered the route to Kamchatka, but the final conquest of this country took place only after the suppression of the Kamchadal revolt in 1731. The conquest of the Chukchee country was not attempted by the Russians until the first half of the eighteenth century. At first the Chukchee not only successfully defended themselves, but at times took the offensive. In fact the Chukchee were not subjected to Russian rule until 1869.

In a southerly direction from Yakutsk Fortress the subjection of the Buryat on the upper course of the Lena was undertaken. These attempts met the stubborn resistance of the Mongols. However, with the foundation of the Verkholenak Fortress, the Russians began to dominate that country and soon the Cossacks, in their search for new lands, reached the shores of the Baikal Sea.

After the foundation of Yakutsk, attempts were made to proceed in a southeastern direction into the Amur Valley. But when the Nerchinak Fortress was established by the Cossacks, the movement into the Amur Region from Yakutsk was halted.

The boundaries of the Lena District subject to the Yakut governors (*voyevodas*) in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century may be generally defined as follows. They included the territories of the middle and lower courses of the Lena River and the whole country to the northeast of the Lena: to the north as far as the Polar Sea, to the east to the Pacific Ocean and Kamchatka (inclusive), and in a southeastern direction they reached the Dshugshur Mountain Ridge. The Lena District comprised the Chichniskoye and Olekminskoye Fortresses and the following settlements: Kharsinskoye, Ust-Potomskoye, Maiskoye, Tontorskoye, Sutalskoye, three Viliuiskiye, Shiganskoye and Olenskoye and the "distant" rivers: Yana with two settlements, Indighirka with three settlements, Alaseya with one settlement, Kolyma with three settlements, Anadyr with one settlement and, finally, the Okhotsk Fortress on the shore of the Okhotsk Sea.

The territory comprising the Yakutsk District was later subjected to numerous changes in its composition as well as in its administrative system.

HS In 1687 the Ilimak district (*ouyead*) which occupied the portage
631 between the Lena and Yenisei Rivers, was added to Yakutsk, but
175 Yakutsk continued to have a separate governor. The governmental
Y reforms of Peter the Great (1708) again detached Ilimak as a separate
631 town. With the reorganization of the Siberian government in 1727, the
175 independence of Ilimak was again maintained. However, in 1775, with
the division of the Irkutsk Government into provinces, the Ilimak
District was again included in Yakutsk Province, but soon after, in
1783, the Irkutsk Government was reorganized into a vice-royalty
divided into three provinces, and Ilimak, in accordance with this division,
was separated from Yakutsk and ultimately annexed to Irkutsk Province.

In 1732, according to Bering's proposal, a coastal strip of land was
cut from the Yakutsk District, and together with Kamchatka formed a
separate Okhotak District, which was reorganized in 1822 into a separate
Primorskoye (coastal) Government. In 1849 the latter was abolished
and the Okhotak country was, for several years, again linked to Yakutsk
Province, but in 1858 it was included in Primorskoye Province, which
was formed of lands annexed from China.

Some changes have taken place in the southern borderland of
Yakutsk Province. In the beginning of the twentieth century the
Olekma-Vitimsky gold mining district was detached from it and joined
to Irkutsk Province, but in 1922 the part of this territory to the north of
the mouth of the Vitim River was again attached to Yakutsk Province,
and called a republic. With this republic was included, on the extreme
northwest, the corner formed by the Polar Sea and the Anabara and
Khatanga Rivers.

Such were the most important changes in the composition of the
Yakutsk territory from the seventeenth century to the present.

No less significant changes occurred in the administrative organiza-
tion of the Yakut country. In the seventeenth century Yakutsk was the
center of a great independent country directly subordinate to Moscow,
although for some specific questions it was dependent on the governors
of Tobolsk. In the time of Peter the Great, Yakutsk entered into the
newly organized Siberian *Guberniya* (government) and with the division
of the Siberian government into provinces was included in Irkutsk
Province. In 1775 Irkutsk Province was organized into a government
and the Yakut country formed one of the provinces of the new govern-
ment. In 1783 the government was again reorganized into a vice-royalty
composed of four provinces, one of which was Yakutsk Province. In
1797 the vice-royalty was abolished and the government restored. In

1806 under the Emperor Alexander I, the Yakut country was made a separate province dependent upon Irkutsk. In 1852 the Yakut country was given a separate governor. After the revolution in February, 1917, a commissar was appointed by the Provisional Government. In 1919, after two years of bloody civil war, a Soviet regime was established and finally in 1922 the Yakut Country was proclaimed an Autonomous Republic.

"Millach is the first chief reported to have gone over to the Russians. He had a small tribe, which separated from the Ghanghalaski, under the charge of the chief Tygin. Millach inhabited a hill on the eastern shores of the Lena 60 versts below Yakutsk, called Tshebedal. He supplied the Russians with food, and gave them 40 archers to subdue Tygin and his tribe, which was accomplished on Tygin's falling in the field. Tribute was collected in 1630, and in 1632 the first ostrog [RCH: fortress] was built among them on the mountain Tshebedal, but afterwards removed to the place where the town now stands. Millach's tribe is now known by the name of Namski Ulus, or Our Tribe, a name given to it by the Russians."

7: Shklovsky -- 207 T-3 (1891-92) 1916
116, 175, 651

Yakut

"As a matter of fact, the Yakuts did not run away directly after the death of Dygyn(1)
[RCH: see category 116, pp. 205-207]

1. Dygyn was a petty chief, an historical personage.

In 1683 the first Governor was appointed, Peter Golovin, and another to help him, Gliyebof, and a priest Efim Filatof. They all arrived in Yakutsk on the 6th of June, 1640, accompanied by 'streltzy' (regulars), Cossacks, various small officials, and traders.

'The Government of this place began with heavy taxation, not certainly for the profit of the Government, but for the officials,' says Moskvina, a Yakutsk merchant, whose manuscript chronicle, 'The Officials of Yakutsk and Their Doings,' covers the period ending 1821. "

"A merchant of Yakutsk in those early times has left a description in a manuscript, which has been preserved, of the way in which the natives were treated. He says: 'The Vojevodes or Military Governors began their rule by imposing the most intolerable burdens in the way of taxes, which went not only to the government, but also to appease the insatiable covetousness of the tax-gatherers. They oppressed, tormented, and tortured [113] the subjugated natives, under pretext of their taxes being in arrear, but the amount of these taxes was never fixed'. Driven to despair by these constant extortions, the natives revolted, but these risings were quenched in blood, thanks to the firearms of their oppressors. A whole series of the most barbarous punishments were then inflicted on the rebels. By order of the vojevode Golovin, the ears and noses of the rebellious Yakuts were cut off and their eyes put out; they were suspended by iron hooks fastened in their backs and between their ribs, and some of them were buried alive. Within the old fort there was a special torture-chamber, where the torture-master worked from early in the morning till late at night. A short respite was afforded the natives when quarrels arose between the vojevodes Gleboff and Golovin over the spoil. Golovin, who was dismissed and punished with the knout, was succeeded by a number of vojevodes who remained only a short time at their post. But the extortions from the natives did not diminish, and their sufferings became intolerable when Andrei Afanasevitch Baryschnieff was appointed to the office of vojevode in Yakutsk in

the year 1675. 'It was during his rule that political offenders and sectarians began to be exiled to the province of Yakutsk, the former usually arriving there with their tongues cut out. 'When Baryschnieff entered on his office,' says the above-quoted Moskvín in his narrative, 'a régime of veritable terrorism began. Almost every day sectarians and natives were executed in Yakutsk in the most barbarous manner.' The smallest offences were [114] punished in the most horrible way. The culprits were cut in pieces, burnt alive, boiled alive in kettles, etc.

This fiend of a vojevode was replaced by a certain Priktonsky, under whose rule the Yakuts made, in 1682, their last effort to throw off the foreign yoke. Many sectarians and some Kossacks joined the rebels. The revolt was suppressed and followed by the usual monstrous cruelties. One of the leaders of the revolt, Dschennik, for example, who had been wounded and brought to Yakutsk, was skinned alive! Those who were left of the beaten Yakuts fled to the Vilui, Yana, and Kolyma.

The reform-movement which passed over European Russia in the beginning of the 18th century did not at all touch the far-off Yakuts. Only larger and denser did the throngs of exiles sent to Yakutsk become, and they increased still more during the troublous times immediately after the death of Peter I., many of the noblest and greatest sons of Russia being expatriated to the distant tundras of Yakutsk to be buried alive

9: Stadling--112-114

E-3

(1898) 1901

Yakut-3

Russia

116, 175, 669, 687, 177.68

636.68

near the Arctic sea. The vojevodes still continued to rule as tsars in Yakutsk, official 'Revisors,' who were sent there to investigate into their rule, were imprisoned, knouted, and sent back to Irkutsk."

"I have already mentioned a census of the indigenous population, which had been made the preceding year in the northern part of the government of Tobolsk. A similar work was now going forward in Eastern Siberia, and I met in Yakutsk with three excellent men who were employed in its execution. Of these, M. Pyatuitki alone was connected with the finance department in St. Petersburg, while MM. Táskén and Slóbin, from the mines of Nerchinsk, were associated with him, in order to afford him the opportunity of becoming acquainted with whatever mineral riches might exist in the tracts of country gone over. The main object of the expedition was to make a new assessment of the yasak or fur tribute for the several families and tribes of the indigenous population; and we were told that they were instructed by the government to deal with the people in the mildest possible manner. Yet they had been able to increase the yasak every where throughout the tracts occupied by the Yakuts and Tunguzes along the Upper Lena, as the number of inhabitants had increased there considerably during the last fifty years. It is said that the same result is obtained for all Siberia taken together, and that exceptions are to be found only in localities where endemic diseases prevail, as in the case of the Verkhovian Ostyaks. I heard on this occasion of a particular kind of numerical notation, invented during the present intercourse with the aboriginal tribes, and in which the new assessments were expressed and enjoined to the several communities, and the old accounts settled. It consisted of only six different figures, which represented furs

to the value of 5 and 10 kopeks, and of 1, 10, 100, and 1000 roobles respectively. When the amount of the assessment was agreed on, it was written in these runes on paper, and then cut on wooden staves as permanent memorials, as the Ostyaks and Votyaks are accustomed to do in their private transactions. To the inhabitants of remote and secluded yurts this was obviously an event of great importance, and worthy to form an epoch in their history. The Yakuts celebrated it in extemporaneous songs, of which a Russian interpreter preserved this fragment: 'The commission erected its throne with us for the good of all; receive it well, ye other tribes, that ye also may be dealt with wisely. '"

"From documents preserved in the archives of Ineseisk it would appear, that a desatrik (a sort of civil under-officer) named Ilia Ermolin, belonging to a party led by one Golkin to the banks of the Lena (where they expected to find some Cossacks, that is to say, at the mouth of the river Kiringee), heard from the Tongusees that the Cossacks whom they sought had gone to the land of the Yakuts. It seems then, that the Tongusees, and perhaps the Burettas, had given them the name of the Yakuts.

Those indefatigable Cossacks were the persons who at length conquered the inhabitants; [18] and there actually remains at the town of Yakutsk the greater part of a very strong wooden fortification built by them, which, if it had been taken common care of, would now be almost as strong as the day it was built. It has, however, been suffered to fall into decay. "

Y /2 cont./

[121] who, in the year 1875, again visited the lower part of the Olenék
 [114] and the Lena to complete his observations, while at the same
 time I took part in the surveying of Siberia, likewise started by
 the Geographical Society.

[126] Since East Siberia, and especially the part under consideration
 here, is apt to be a complete terra incognita to the foreign reader
 to an even greater extent than to the Russian, I shall /3/ also add
 here for better orientation a brief survey of the history, rather
 uneventful in itself, of this northernmost region of Russia, with
 reference to the general map of the territory between the Jenissei
 and Jana /Yana/ appended to this volume, which, drawn up ac-
 cording to our data, was reproduced by the Imperial Russian
 General Staff.

Y
 175 The stretches of land of interest to us were discovered by Rus-
 648 sian Cossacks in the first half of the seventeenth century. The
 167 city of Mangaséja /Mangazeya/ was founded on the river Tas
 /Taz/ in Samojeden /Samoyed/ country about the year 1600
 [361] under the rule of Czar Boris Fedorovich Godunov. From here the
 Cossacks soon penetrated to the Jenissei, founded there in the
 year 1607 near the mouth of the Turuchán /Turukhan/ River a
 settlement named after it, to which the entire trade of Mangaséja
 was later directed, and soon afterwards also discovered the mouths
 of the Jenissei and the Pjässida River lying to the east. Spurred
 on by ambition and also not forgetting their pockets, Cossacks in
 the following years gradually pushed up the (Lower) Tunguska,
 emptying into the Jenissei near Turuchánsk, before them, as
 Fischer (1) relates, the hunters ("are rovers who band together in

Y
 [113] 1. Johann Eberhard Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte
 /Siberian History/, St. Petersburg, 1768. 2 vols.
 The following very characteristic quotations are
 taken from this work.

order to catch game"). The Lena was reached probably as early
 as 1620 (even earlier by the hunters) by crossing the watershed,
 barely 30 versts wide here, from the present village of
 Podwolótschnaja /Podvoloshnaya/ on the Tunguska and therefore
 emerging about 50 versts below the present Kirensk.

T
 648 This was not accomplished without battle with the resident
 721 tribes. Fischer tells about a band /4/ of 189 hunters: "Never-
 175 theless they were occasionally sharply rapped on the knuckles

T /4 cont./

175 by the Tungus lying in wait for them, and the light went out for
 648 one or another of them if he strayed too far from the band."

721 In another place it is likewise said about the ancestors of our now

T quite harmless Tungus friends: "These (the Tungus on the
 [181] Tschája /Chaya/) told him much about those Tungus living on
 the Nishna-Tunguska, that they were a wild and stouthearted people,
 that they had sometimes picked a quarrel with a hundred
 Russians and beat them."

y
 648 In the year 1620, through the Tungus, the Cossacks received
 the first report about the Wiljúi /Vilyui/, its nearness to the
 • 175 Tunguska, and about the Jakuten /Yakut/ on the lower Lena.
 They considered this news so important that they reported it to
 Tobólsk, at that time the capital of Siberia, and to Moscow.
 Instructions seem to have failed to appear for a long time, for
 it was not until the year 1630 that Martin Wassíljew /Vasilyev/
 was sent out to the Jakuten with 30 men; then, navigating down
 the Wiljúi, he fulfilled his mission and took from the Jakuten
 the first tribute (jassák /yassak/), probably more for his gain than
 for that of the crown, for although, personally sent to Moscow, he
 had boasted there after his return "to bring the whole Jakut nation
 under his heel, provided that for this purpose he were given 40
 additional men for reinforcement," and although this reinforcement
 was granted, Wassíljew was dismissed immediately afterwards,
 and a Circassian, Stepán Korýtow, was named as head of
 the expedition, which was undertaken in the year 1632.

T
 [648] In the meantime, however, the Jenisseisk Cossacks, who had
 [721] gradually gone up the Upper Tunguska (Angará) and the Ilím, but
 not without battles with the Tungus and Burjáten /Buryat/, had
 reached the upper Lena /5/ and navigated down to the mouth of
 y
 648 the Kírenga, near the present Kirensk. They, too, heard about
 439 the Jakuten and their wealth in livestock, and, as Fischer says
 175 of one of their leaders: "That succulent tidbit made his mouth
 water." But it was not until the year 1632 that the sotnik Peter
 Bekétow went down the Lena and, with a handful of Cossacks,
 established a small fort 15 versts below the present Jakutsk
 /Yakutsk/. That the tidbit was indeed succulent is clear from
 Fischer's words: "How profitable the trade must have been in
 this early period may be gathered from the fact, among others,
 that the Jakuten paid for the copper kettles, which they preferred
 over other Russian wares, with as many sables as could be put in
 each Kettle."

/5 cont./

each kettle." Unfortunately discord now arose among the Russians themselves. The above-mentioned expedition from Turuchansk had traveled down the Wiljui, captured a Cossack division sent by Bekétow, imposed on various Jakuten tribes who had previously paid their jassak to Jakutsk another such, and finally set up a winter camp on the Aldán. The Jakuten /Yakut/, outraged at such treatment, besieged the Jakutsk fort in January and February of 1634, and little was needed for the garrison to starve to death. Fortunately, however, "the Jakuten became bored and went away."

The fight ended, however, when Korýtow was taken prisoner and sent back to Turuchansk, but several Jakuten tribes, discontented with the new regiment, went in search of more distant regions--some emigrated to the Wiljui, others to the Arctic Ocean, and still others to the present Oljókminsk /Olekminsk/ district. The enterprising Jenisseisk Cossacks, however, did not rest /6/ on their laurels. In the year 1636 Jelissei /Elisei/ Búsa was sent out from Jenisseisk under orders to visit the rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean and to impose jassak on the dwellers along them. With ten Cossacks and 40 hunters, after he had wintered in Oljókminsk, he went to the mouth of the Lena in the following spring and from there, after a short journey, reached the mouth of the Olenek. "Here he went upstream until he met some Tungus, from whom he seized five sorok ($5 \times 40 = 200$) sables as tribute; and, since winter was at hand, he built for himself and his people a hut for winter quarters." In the meantime, however, the Jakutsk Cossacks had also discovered the Olenek. From the Wiljui, which, after the expulsion of the Turuchansk people, was now open to them, they went up the Marchá /Markhia/ and thus reached the upper part of the Olenek, where, in the same year that Busa appeared as conqueror on the lower course, they carried on the same business as he did, without knowing about him. In the following spring Busa traveled overland to the Lena, which he reached near Siktjach /Siktyakh/ (at 70° latitude), again built himself boats, and navigated with them again down the Lena, but then to the east, entered the Jána /Yana/, and imposed jassak on the dwellers along this river, as well as, in subsequent years, on the natives living farther to the east on the Arctic Ocean. He did not return to

/6 cont./He did not return to

648 Jakutsk until the year 1642. Also along the Jana, while Busa
 175 lived on the lower part, the upper part was conquered by the
 Jakutsk Cossacks, who traveled there on horseback across the
 mountains from the Aldan.

So much for the oldest authenticated history of these northern
 regions. Russian dominance became stronger and stronger, espe-
 cially after /7/ the constant strife between the various Cossack
 parties was brought to an end as a result of the appointment in
 Jakutsk of an independent wojewoden /voivode/ in the year 1641.

175 I have only a few more words to add about the scientific
 114 conquest of the region in question. It began first with Peter the
 Great, although there were earlier maps of Siberia and routes of
 march prepared by Rémesow /Remezov/, whose atlas still exists
 in manuscript, but no longer meets current demands. Peter the
 Great sent geodesists to Siberia and took care of their training.
 Especially important for us is the expedition of Messerschmidt,
 who was originally called upon by Peter for the first founding of
 an academy of the sciences and in 1719 was sent to Siberia, where,
 on numerous journeys up to 1727, he collected valuable mate-
 rial for the natural sciences, as well as undertaking a great many
 latitudinal measurements. On the Lower Tunguska Messerschmidt
 was our first and only predecessor; he went up the river from the
 Troitzky Monastery to Podwolotschnaja /Podvoloshnaya/.

Forever memorable are the expeditions under the leadership
 of Bering, carried out with the utmost endurance for ten years,
 from 1733-1743, during the reign of the Empress Anna Ivanovna,
 which finally resulted in the complete survey of the north and
 part of the east coast of Siberia. Prónschischschew
 /Prontschischew/ and Charitón Láptew /Laptev/ in particular
 worked from the Lena toward the west; the former and his wife
 succumbed to the hardships at the mouth of the Olenek. Of the
 scientists accompanying this great expedition, the naturalist
 Gmelin, Sr., the historiographer Müller, and the astronomer de
 l'Isle /De Lisle/ de la Croyère, with whom Steller and Fischer
 were later associated, none came into the territory explored by us.
 For this, /8/ besides the aforementioned Messerschmidt, we
 had as predecessor only the present Bishop of Jakutsk, Dionýssij,
 who, as the missionary Chitrów, visited the lower Olenek and
 published (in the publications of the Siberian Section of the

/8 cont./

- 175 Imperial Russian Geographical Society) a description of the
114 regions visited by him, which is most interesting in many respects.

On the other hand, for the border areas, especially the lower Jenissei, there is a whole series of interesting expeditions, of which I shall mention here only the most noteworthy: the ethnographer Castrén, the geologists Fr. Schmidt and Lopatin, and, in quite recent times, Nordenskiöld and his party have brought back to us rich scientific material from these remote regions. Next to Pallas, however, who personally saw only the southern parts, Siberian science is most deeply indebted to A. v. Middendorff, the famous explorer of the Taimyr country, who, of all the land travelers, advanced farthest on the continent of Asia, almost to 76° latitude.

In the eastern part of our territory, there are principally to be mentioned the expeditions of Anjou and Baron Wrangel in the years 1821-1823, the former of whom in particular also determined more accurately astronomically the mouths of the Lena and the Olenek, as well as, in the south, the 1828 and 1829 expeditions of Hansteen and his companion Due, who continued his explorations to Wiljuisk /Vilyuisk/, and Erman's, who traveled by way of Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ to the Pacific Ocean, and finally the expedition of Maack and his fellow travelers in the Wiljui /Vilyui/ region, outfitted by the Siberian Section of the Imperial Geographical Society in 1854, the results of which are but little known up to now. (A volume containing meteorological /9/ material appeared in the Russian language in 1877 in Irkutsk.)

114 There still remains for me the sad duty of dedicating a few lines to the memory of my faithful traveling companion -- Alexander Czekanowsky. He was not permitted to work over even a part of the rich geological material brought back by him, not permitted to carry out his favorite plan and to open up the territory of the Anábara /Anabar/ and the Dshése, still completely unknown scientifically. Still in the strongest years of manhood at the age of 45, he ended his life, most unselfishly dedicated to science, on October 18/30, 1876, in a fit of melancholy, the gradual development of which had often caused me serious concern on our joint travels. Involved in the Polish uprising of the sixties, Czekanowsky had come to Siberia involuntarily, and here, in spite of long years of the most oppressive

/182 cont./

114

Olenék, near the mouth, he found the sunken graves overgrown with moss and lichens; only a weathered wooden cross with a barely legible inscription recalls the hero to mind. Perhaps an age that has again turned its interest to a significant degree to the navigation of the Arctic Ocean will set up a worthy monument for this deserving champion at the place where he ended his heroic career.

- 175 At that time Russian peasants probably lived here; perhaps the present inhabitants are in part descendants of the many crews that came here with those bold commanders; [651] they still call themselves krestjáne, i.e., peasants, and their crown tax seems to be standardized accordingly, differing from that of the other Jakuten /Yakut/; in everything else they are completely Jakutized and any reminder of former times has [829] disappeared. But they complain that they are becoming ever [162] fewer, not, say, because of especially devastating sicknesses, but because only daughters are preponderantly born to them. I do not know whether this phenomenon also occurs among other ichthyophagists. But that is what they are in the truest sense of the word.

- 226 During the greater part of the year they feed themselves and
262 their dogs almost exclusively on fish. Mukssún and o'mul of
231 considerable size are the principal fish, also taiméne /taimen/
and néljma, for which, however, this was not the proper season,
and therefore, instead of the anticipated delicacy, we had
226 to be content with the former, less prized fish. Otherwise only
a few smaller kinds of fish are found here, but no sturgeon or
sterlet, although these, as we /183/ learned on the journey,
are caught, even though rarely, much farther upstream in the
region of the Ssiligír. Fishing is also productive in the tundra
lakes; in particular two kinds present there were brought to us,
the ihúúú and the mungnúr, the latter a very tasty fish that is
also quite common in the Olenék itself, where from the Ssiligír

most of the vocabulary and the grammatical structure are undoubtedly Turkic in origin. At the same time, the language contains a considerable number of loan words from the Mongol and Tungus languages. Academician V. V. Radlov (1908) put forward the hypothesis that the vocabulary, phonetic structure, and even the grammatical structure of the Yakut language has a pre-Turkic, more ancient stratum of partly Mongol and partly indeterminate origin.

The latest research, admittedly, has not confirmed this hypothesis; hence the problem of non-Turkic elements in the Yakut language requires further study. Analysis of the names of the Yakut tribal-clan groups (known from 17th-century documents and also from later data) confirms that the Yakut population is further made up of immigrant groups from the south. To judge by the names, these include the present-day Batulins, Khorins, Tumats, Ergits, and some other clans and *naslegs*¹. It may be considered that pastoral groups, taking their nomadic culture with them, gradually infiltrated the Middle Lena Basin from the south, from the Baykal regions. One of the principal groups of these migrants from the south was evidently the Kurykans—a Turkic people inhabiting the western Baykal region in the 9th and 10th centuries. Since some of the Kurykans clearly contributed to the composition of the western Buryats later on, this explains many features of similarity in the culture of the western Buryats and Yakuts and the wide distribution of the same anthropological type among both of them.

The trek northwards was gradual and took a long time. In the Amga-Lena watershed, under conditions favorable for pastoralism, these newly arrived groups settled down, establishing contact with the local hunting-fishing population. In the process of economic and cultural contact, there was gradual absorption of the local population by the newcomers. A higher, pastoral type of economy and southern elements of culture, as well as the Turkic language, became predominant.

Such is the ethnogenesis of the Yakuts in the light of present-day knowledge.

Precise historical accounts of the Yakuts only date from the time of their first contact with the Russians, that is to say, 1620, and annexation to the Russian State. At that time the Yakuts were not a single political unit, but were divided into a number of independent tribes. Tribal relations were already decomposing, however, and there was a fairly clearly marked class stratification. The tsarist voyevods and soldiery took advantage of the intertribal strife to break the resistance of some of the Yakut population; they also took advantage of the class differences within it by pursuing a policy of systematic support of the ruling aristocratic clique, the princelings (*toyons*), whom they turned into their own agents for purposes of governing the Yakut district. From that moment on, the class differences among the Yakuts began to become more clearly marked.

The Yakut masses led a hard life. They paid tribute in sable and fox furs, had to perform a number of other compulsory services and were exploited by the tsarist soldiery, Russian merchants and their own *toyons*. After several unsuccessful uprisings (1634, 1636-1637, 1639-1640, and 1642), and after the *toyons* had gone over to the side of the voyevods, the Yakut masses could only retaliate against the oppression by sporadic attempts at resistance and flight from their native *ulus* to outlying

¹A territorial and population unit; originally, the members of a single camp, now equivalent to the *rayon*.—Ed.

The Yakuts

247

parts. By the end of the 18th century, the fur resources of the Yakut district were running out and the district itself had been partially devastated through the piratical rule of the tsarist authorities. At the same time, the Yakut population, which had migrated from the Lena-Vilyuy district for various reasons, appeared on the borderland of Yakutiya, where they had not been seen before—on the Kolyma, Indigirka, Olenek and Anabar right up to the Lower Tunguska Basin. 175 648 651 667

But even during those first few decades contact with the Russian people favorably influenced the economics and culture of the Yakuts. The Russians brought a higher culture with them; agriculture was already in evidence on the Lena by the middle of the 17th century; the Russian type of dwelling, Russian fabric clothes, new trades, new furnishings and domestic objects slowly began to find their way among the Yakut population. 175 648 241 342 291

It is an extremely important fact that the establishment of Russian authority in Yakutiya put a stop to the intertribal warring and looting by the toiyons, which up to that time had been a great hardship for the Yakut population. 648 721 175

An end was also put to the arbitrary behavior of the Russian soldiers, who often fell out among themselves and tried to draw the Yakuts into their quarrels. The order established in 1640 in the Yakut country was better than the previous state of chronic anarchy and constant internecine strife.

In the 18th century, by dint of the further penetration by the Russians to the east (the annexation of Kamchatka, the Chukchi peninsula, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska), Yakutiya played the part of a transit camp for new campaigns and the acquisition of more distant lands. 175 648

Between 1720 and 1740, the expeditions of Bering increased the importance of the Yakutsk-Okhotsk highway, which was used to transport a great deal of freight (this highway retained its importance up to the middle of the 19th century). All this drew Yakutiya into Russia's system of economic ties and thereby raised the general level of the productive forces of that territory.

The influx of Russian peasants (particularly along the Lena Valley on account of the construction of the mail route in 1773) created the right conditions for mutual influence between Russian and Yakut cultural elements. By the end of the 17th and 18th centuries, agriculture began to be practiced by the Yakuts, though at first it was a very slow business and Russian-type houses began to appear. Nevertheless, even in the 19th century the number of Russian settlers was comparatively small. 175 241 648 342

In addition to peasant colonization, of great importance in the 19th century was the system of convict settlements in Yakutiya. Together with the criminal convicts, whose effect on the Yakuts was negative, political exiles began to appear in Yakutiya in the second half of the 19th century; these were first the Narodniks², and later, in the 1890's, the Marxists, and they played a large part in the cultural and political development of the Yakut masses. 175 648

By the beginning of the 20th century, great strides had been made in the economic development of Yakutiya, at least in the central regions

² Literally, "Populists;" adherents of a political movement directed toward a radical reconstruction of the social order through the peasantry.—Ed.

(Yakutskiy, Vilyuyskiy, and Olekminskiy Okrugs). An internal market was established and the development of economic ties speeded up the growth of national self-awareness. 175
648

Despite the cruel exploitation of the poorer Yakuts by the tsarist authorities and their own bourgeois-toyon hierarchy, the class struggle in Yakutiya up to 1890 was restricted to covert forms. But from this time the struggle of the ulus poor for land, possessed by the toyons, grew more and more intense. The growing discontent, however, was to some extent utilized by the toyons themselves, who were able by skillful maneuvering to direct the discontent away from themselves and toward the tsarist officialdom during the 1905-1906 revolution. In 1906 the toyons set up the Yakut Union—a bourgeois-nationalist organization, which did not last very long.

During the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, the movement of the Yakut masses for liberation developed more deeply and widely. At first it was led predominantly by Bolsheviks (particularly in Yakutsk), but after the return of most of the political exiles to Russia (in May 1917), the counterrevolutionary groups of the toyons, who had joined forces with the Social-revolutionary-bourgeois section of the urban population, gained the upper hand.

The struggle for Soviet power in Yakutiya dragged on for a long time. It was only on June 30, 1918, that the Soviet regime was officially proclaimed for the first time in Yakutsk, and only in December 1919, after the liquidation of the Kolchak forces all over Siberia, that the Soviet regime was finally established in Yakutiya.

Pastoralism

Pastoralism has been the principal branch of Yakut economy for centuries, clearly distinguishing the Yakuts from the surrounding peoples. In Russian documents of the 17th century the Yakuts are sometimes called "the horse people." But both at that time and later, apart from horse-breeding, the principal form of Yakut economy was the breeding of cattle. These were distributed more evenly among the different classes of the population than horses, which were concentrated in the hands of the toyons. 231

During the 19th century, horse-breeding in Yakutiya gradually declined. At the end of the century, there were only 115,000-130,000 horses and 220,000-260,000 head of cattle. Apart from these types of livestock, the Yakuts also had dogs (both hunting dogs and watchdogs) and cats as domestic animals. In the northern regions, the Yakuts herded reindeer, like the Evenks. Other types of domestic animals such as sheep, goats, pigs, and also poultry were unknown before the arrival of the Russians, and were hardly to be found at all on Yakut farms right up to the Revolution.

With regard to methods of keeping cattle, the Yakuts had long practiced two basic systems—pasturing and stabling. The horses were left to graze both in the summer and (usually) in the winter; by no means was fodder always stored away for them and on many farms the horses had to dig it up with their hooves from under the snow throughout the winter. The Yakuts stored up hay as winter fodder for foals and cattle.

The Yakuts were familiar with mowing before the arrival of the Russians (the current opinion that the technique of mowing was acquired from the Russians is wrong), although it was evidently conducted on a smaller scale. Legend states that in ancient times bone scythes were used for mowing. But the Yakut scythe, which was retained until recently 412

The Yakuts

265



Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Meginskii and Borogonskii ulusy, as well as in the Kolymakii Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century.

During the 19th century the Russian type of structure—the log hut—gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found; for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on.

The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horizontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together.

When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or ostrozhki, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636-1637, during the campaign against the Kargalastey, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: "... the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons.

Clothing

The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing.

The Yakuts

283

The Yakuts are very fond of eloquence. The ability to make a good speech at a meeting is highly regarded, and the speaker is greeted with cries of approval. 537

With regard to the songs (yrya), the melodies are simple and monotonous, but there are different genres, and the images are often artistic. It is possible to sing love songs (for girls and boys), dance songs, humorous songs, shaman songs, and so on, as well as improvisations, when a person tells in song what he has been doing or seeing. The motif of this kind of song is very simple and usually consists of two or three repeated notes. 533

The Yakuts did not have any other kind of music, apart from vocal. There were no musical instruments, leaving aside the shaman tambourine and the khomus, a small iron Jew's-harp known to more or less all the peoples of the Old World. [534]

The dances of the Yakuts are very original. Particularly interesting is a round called the *ohyozaa*, performed during festivals. 535

The dancers stand in a circle arm in arm and in time to the singing move with majestic steps to the left, in the direction of movement of the sun. There were variations of this dance in different localities. There were also various dancing games.

Ornamental art attained a high level of development among the Yakuts. The carving of wood and mammoth ivory; the casting and stamping of silver, copper and gold; the embroidery and appliqué of leather and fabric; fur appliqué and mosaic; the weaving of horsehair: all these were arts performed with materials available to the Yakuts and in which the craftsmen showed particular artistic taste and skill. Basically there was no graphic art for other than decorative purposes among the Yakuts, just as in the folk art of the past as a whole, if we disregard the animal, and human figures made by the shamans, and the later carved sculpture made in imitation of Russian examples. 531/532

The style of the Yakut design was original, although it contained Tungus, Mongol and other elements. Geometric motifs predominated, at times rather intricate ones. On the carved wooden vessels we find circular designs consisting of straight, serrated and wavy lines with points, dashes and so on, covering almost the entire surface. In the stamping, casting and birchbark carving, there predominate symmetrical, rounded figures, such as hooks, meanders, pincer-shapes, and so on, with linear squares, concentric circles and so forth. Very typical is a design found on scoops and saddlecloths; here one is struck by the central two-horned lyre—a purely Yakut motif. 531

The darkening of silver, and the painting of wood and alder with a concoction of alder, were developed.

In the selection of colors, preference was shown for black, red and, to some extent yellow and blue. The same preference was shown in the selection of fabric of the appropriate color.

Such was the culture of the Yakut people up to the October Revolution. Particularly important was the cultural assistance which the Yakuts obtained from the fraternal Russian people during the prerevolutionary years. In the 19th century it was mainly the political exiles, beginning with the Decembrists, who spread culture through Yakutiya. There were also other progressive Russian people who diffused the beginnings of a cultivated way of life among the Yakuts. In particular, they laid the foundations of the Yakut written language. 175/177/212

The Yakuts

287

number of (ecclesiastical) books were published in Yakut. After the 1905 revolution, artistic and journalistic literature in Yakut began to appear. 212
114

Nevertheless, education remained on a low level among the broad Yakut masses. There were no Yakut national schools. Russian church and state schools began to appear in Yakutiya in the 18th century, but there were very few of them. Even in the early 1900's, there were only 11 rural primary schools in all of Yakutiya, and 57 parish and literacy schools. The masses had little access to these schools, and still less to the secondary schools; there were only 5 of these, and they were located only in cities. Of the Yakuts, it was mainly the children of toiyons who could get into them. 871

Nevertheless, even at the end of the 19th century, a small Yakut intelligentsia began to appear—teachers, officials, lawyers and doctors, who had chiefly received education at Tomsk University. From among this intelligentsia there emerged individual amateurs of local history and folklore—the first Yakut ethnographers and collectors. But by their class affiliation and ideology, these first Yakut intellectuals were inclined to the toyon camp, and were infected with nationalism. Alongside this bourgeois-toyon intelligentsia, there appeared in the last years preceding the October Revolution, under the influence of Social-Democratic and Bolshevik propaganda by political exiles (particularly in the circle led by Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy), a small nucleus of progressive Russian cultural workers. 571
[814]

Socialist Reconstruction

Formation of Yakut ASSR

In Yakutiya, just as throughout the country, the establishment of the Soviet regime involved a fierce struggle against internal and external enemies. In the autumn of 1918 power was seized in Yakutsk by the followers of Kolchak with the help of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries.⁶ Hardly had the Yakutsk workers had time to overthrow the counterrevolutionary regime of Kolchak (December 15, 1919) when there flared up, particularly in the autumn of 1921, the kulak and White Guard revolts, led by tsarist officers and Yakut toiyons who had been hiding in the remoter areas. 175
648

On February 16, 1922, the Presidium of the VTsIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee) adopted a resolution on the formation of the Yakut ASSR. On April 27, 1922, the Presidium, with M. I. Kalinin in the chair, reviewed this question again and decreed as follows: "To form a Yakut Autonomous Soviet Republic as a federal part of the RSFSR with its administrative center in Yakutsk." 175
631

In the autumn of 1922 the young Yakut Republic was faced with a serious threat: the American and Japanese imperialists had moved up General Pepelyayev's troops into Yakutiya from Manchuria. The General received half a million rubles in gold from the American firm of Olaf Svenson and the British Hudson's Bay Company. The Americans and Japanese equipped Pepelyayev with weapons, ammunition and equipment. Food supplies and weapons were the responsibility of the Japanese 175
648

⁶ The Mensheviks were a dissident wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP), which was also the parent organization of the Communist Party. The Social Revolutionaries (SR's) were moderate agrarian socialists; they participated in the government during the first months after the October Revolution.—Ed.

175
648 firm Aral Gumi. The Yakut people took up arms in defense of their young Republic. In March 1923, with the help of the Red Army units, General Pepelyayev was crushed.

175
631 Even while the struggle against the Pepelyayev bands was still at its height, in December 1922 there was held the first All-Yakut Constituent Assembly of Soviets; this conference elected a Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the YaASSR. In 1923 the Constitution of the YaASSR was adopted at the Third All-Yakut Congress of Soviets. In 1937 a new Yakutiyan Constitution was drafted and on March 9 of the same year it was adopted.

Industry and Transportation

433 During the Five-Year Plans a major socialist industry was developed in Yakutiya. At the present time, in addition to the gold, nonferrous metal and mica industries, there are coal, shipbuilding, building-materials, printing and also fish and dairy industries in Yakutiya.

316 Gold was first mined in the regions bordering on Yakutiya (Vitim and Olekma Basins) more than 100 years ago. But in Yakutiya itself the gold was only mined in very small quantities. In 1923 a prospecting party fitted out by the Yakutiyan government, with the help of Yakut guides, discovered the huge gold deposits on the river Aldan. The Aldan immediately became a major gold-mining area. All around the Aldan there arose settlements, mines, and power stations. At the present time the Aldan mines use powerful electroddredges, conveyors, compressors, excavators and haulage machinery.

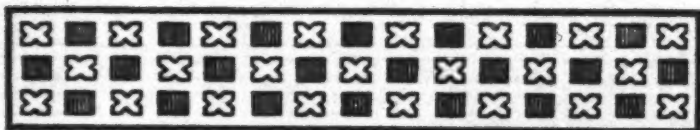
[317] The salt reserves of Kempendey along the tributary of the Vilyuy are being exploited on a wide scale.

Extensive prospecting has resulted in the discovery of dozens of new coal deposits. There is now a coal industry in Yakutiya. An example of the rapid development of the coal industry in Yakutiya is the Sangarskiy area. Gold was first mined in Sangary in 1928. During the first year of the mine's existence only 15 tons of coal were brought up, operations being conducted entirely by hand. Nowadays the mine is a large, well-equipped industrial enterprise. A mechanized system for loading the coal onto barges has been installed. The construction of houses and cultural facilities on a large scale has begun in the coal-mining regions. Sangary itself has become a miners' settlement and an industrial corner of Yakutiya.

313 Before the advent of the Soviet regime the very rich forest reserves of Yakutiya were hardly touched. The timber rotted where it stood, or else was destroyed by forest fire. At the present time forestry is a leading branch of the Yakut economy. Advanced Soviet machinery is used on a wide scale at the lumber camps. There are mobile power stations, and electric saws with power units. The forestry organizations have been provided with dozens of hauling tractors and trucks. Fully mechanized sectors have been set up. The timber is floated downriver by means of mechanical traction. Sawmills have been built.

47
178 Hundreds of industrial plants have been set up in Yakutiya during the Soviet period. The manufacture of glass, bricks, building materials, refractory materials, furniture, leatherwares and footwear, provides for local needs.

433
184 In accordance with the planned development of the economy the Yakut region has been divided up into specialized regions—coal mining in the



THE DOLGANS

A. A. POPOV

General Information

- (0) The Dolgans comprise the basic population of the Taymyr National Okrug. At the present time the Dolgans speak a particular dialect of the Yakut language. They stem from groups of different origin. The nucleus of the Dolgans was made up of 4 clan groups of Tungusic origin—the Dolgans, Edzhens, Karyntuos and Dongots.

The Dolgans call themselves Dulgaan. This name, which is the name of one of the clan groups, was extended to cover all Dolgans in the 19th century, although, many of them still called themselves until recently by the name of the group to which they belonged. Hence they previously did not have any common name for themselves. In the Noril'sk region some Dolgans called themselves tya kisite (which means "man of the forest" in Yakut) or tege (meaning "tribe" or "people" in Evenk). The Dolgans sometimes used the name Tungus but distinguished themselves from the local Evenks in the Taymyr and the Evenk National Okrugs. They do not consider themselves Yakuts and are ethnologically distinct from the latter.

- (26) The number of Dolgans was 1224 in 1897, and 1445 in 1926-27. From the beginning of the 20th century, in addition to the "true" Dolgans, this nationality also included other Yakutized groups (so-called tundra peasants and local Evenks) as well as some of the Yakuts living in the same region. In actual fact the entire indigenous population of the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons, with the exception of the Nganasans and the Evenks living south of the Kheta River and its sources, and the entire indigenous population of the Noril'sk-Pyasina Rural Soviet of the Dudinskiy Rayon in the Taymyr National Okrug can be considered Dolgans. Small groups of Dolgans also live on the Yenisey in the Dudinskiy and Ust'-Yeniseyskiy Rayons.

- 14 Before the Revolution the Dolgans formed the following administrative "clans" headed by clan elders or "princelings": Dolgan-Yenisey (Dolgan proper), Dolgan-Tungus (Dongot), Zhigan-Tungus (Edzhen) and Boganid-Tungus (Karyntuo). The Yakuts who merged with the Dolgans formed the Lower Tundra "Clan" Administration, and to some extent became part of the Betu (Chordu) and other naslegs.

- 197 The Dolgan language is a dialect of Yakut and contains Evenk words. The closeness of the Dolgan dialect to the Yakut language decreases as we move from east to west.

- 175 According to Russian sources, in the 17th century the territory settled by the present-day Dolgans was occupied by ancestors of the Nganasans.
101 The above-mentioned groups, which later formed the core of the Dolgan people, lived at that time in regions comparatively far removed from the Taymyr: the Dolgan group occupied regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy

175
101 and Muna on the Lena; the Edzhen group lived on the lower reaches and the Dongot group on the upper reaches of the Olenek. The ancestors of the Karyntuo probably also lived on the Olenek.

Clans with the name Dolgan and Edyan (Edzhen) were commonly found among the Evens and Evenks. For example, Dolgan clans are known in the regions of the Anadyr' and Gizhiga, on the Kamchatka and Okhotsk coast; Edzhen clans are known in the Aldan Basin, around the Ayan on the Okhotsk coast, and so on.

175
167 During the 16th century the ancestors of the present-day Dolgans migrated to the northwest, the Dolgan groups moving to the rivers Popigay and Khatanga, the Dongot and Edzhens to the Noril'sk Lakes region, and the Karyntuo to the Boganida River basin. Those left on the Lena became part of the local Yakut naslegs as separate clans.

The first Yakut settlers appeared at the end of the 17th century in the Khatanga Basin on the river Kheta, and from then on the influx continued to increase. In the 18th century these Yakuts formed into the Lower Tundra Yakut Volost.

175
17
224
342 Even before the Yakuts—at the beginning of the first half of the 17th century—the rivers Pyasina, Dudypa, Boganida, Kheta, and Khatanga were settled by Russian hunters and trappers who founded the ancient Russian population of these places, subsequently known as tundra peasants. They were chiefly concerned with fishing, and to a lesser extent with hunting. It was from them in particular that the Dolgans and Nganasans learned to set pitfall traps for the polar fox. The influence of their Russian neighbors has long been evident in the dwellings and everyday life of the Dolgans, that is to say, during the migration to the Taymyr.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the gap between the culture and everyday life of the different groups of the population in this territory began to narrow. The Yakut language became predominant and was absorbed not only by originally Tungus groups, but also by a large number of tundra peasants. Inter-marriage swept away the former barriers between the Evens, Yakuts and Russians to an ever greater extent.

648 The system of tsarist administration was no different here from what existed in any other part of Northern Siberia. The Dolgans, Yakuts and Evens had to pay the fur-tax as "natives" and formed "clans" headed by princelings, while the tundra peasants were forced to pay a poll tax, were formed into a "community" and headed by an elder. People living many hundreds of kilometers away from the nearest centers were economically dependent on the merchants who monopolized supplies to the region, bought up all the furs, and cruelly exploited the population.

Economy and Everyday Life

433
224
361 The main occupations of the Dolgans of the past were reindeer-breeding, hunting, and, in certain regions, fishing. Until quite recently the Dolgans were still leading a nomadic life. Their nomadizing was basically of two types. In the region of the Noril'sk Lakes and in the basin of the Popigay, they retained a more archaic system of nomadizing and did not leave, generally speaking, the forest-tundra belt, but kept to the forest-covered river valleys in the winter, and wandered back to the bare steppes for the summer. The winter camps of other groups of Dolgans stretched along the forest-tundra belt from Lake Pyasino to the lower reaches of the Popigay. These were typical "edge-of-the-forest" dwellers. The winter was spent in the forest-tundra with slight deviations south of the northern boundary of the forest vegetation, while the summer was passed in the tundra,